876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [577] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 177 554 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

632 621 [247] [285] [463] they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koldi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [732] [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Crafts- [323] men who make the fine sitting mat (bəli), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [341] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [785] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

GEIDAM

1. Religious specialists.

792 872 875 [463] [462] The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam. As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Geidam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding [874] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections [292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam [735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 [554] 793 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political author- [693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in [192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

[BEIDAN]

#177 627 691 829 441 178 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more powerful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on traditional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict, and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is because they are unsure of their own position in relation to that of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

935 517 431 [584] The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generosity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share what he has with others who have little. The individual who occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

[GEIDAM]

Table XXIX

20. Charity and generosity: If you were rich, would you give a new kulugu (gown) to a man who asked you for one?

	Unqualified yes	Qualifications
Aristocracy	4	1 would give to one man who asked; not to many.
Koranic Malams	2*a	1 doesn't know. If Allah gives, he would give. If Allah forbade, he wouldn't give.
Canteen Operators —	3	3 1: "To someone close to you, like your family, who doesn't have anything--you give. If you know him you give; if not you don't give." 2: "A man would farm for me and I would give him a kulugu. I wouldn't give just like that." 3: "A man who has nothing, a Malam, an old man with no strength--you give."
NA Malams	5	1 "If the man already had one, I would not give him one."
Kabuns	6	-
Craftsmen	6	-
Talaka	6	2 1: "If you know him, you give. If he already has one, you don't." 2: If I have many kulugus, I'd give. If the other man is brought to me by want, I'd give."
Low-status Individuals	4	-
Totals:	36	8

*a The youngest malam said that he would give, but his explanation for giving was that, "If you give to him, perhaps you may need it later and he will give to you."

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735

[BEIDAM]

that you give only to someone who will work for you.

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Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (joku), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]